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THE LAO DONG PARTY OF NORTH VIETNAM

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THE LAO DONG PARTY OF NORTH VIETNAM

Following is a translation of selected articles from various issues of the Vietnamese-language newspaper Mhan-Dan, central organ of the Vietnamese Labor Party, Hanoi. Date of issue, page, and author, if any, are given under individual article headings.⁷

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I: LAO DONG PARTY, THE ORGANIZER,
LEADER AND TRAINER OF YOUTH

No 2126, 12 January 1960
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Nguyen-Lam

In these historic days of the beginning of the year, we, the youth of Vietnam, joyfully celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Party. Every one of us is experiencing exciting minutes in his own sentimental life. It is the pride, the hope, the strong belief and the faithfulness we feel for the Party in devoting our whole life to it.

The young generation of today is indeed extremely fortunate in having the Party and President Ho as their leaders to educate them.

The Party, bringer of light and happiness to the life of our Youth today

The young generation of today is no longer the slaves, but the masters of their own land, the masters of their own lives. This is thanks to the sacrifices of the Party which has fought and led the people on the glorious road of the revolution.

Since its creation, the Party has had to face many challenges under the iron heels of the imperialists and the blood-thirsty Fascists, but in the end has secured victory and success.

In fighting in that revolutionary struggle which was fraught with many sacrifices, the communist combatants have never cared for their health nor their lives. They have courageously endured all the hardest tortures; they have even sacrificed their lives in order to bring to realization the high ideal of communism.

The youth of today enjoy favorable conditions of life. They are happier than generations of youth in the past, and this, thanks to the leadership of the Party.

Let us think back to the period forty or fifty years ago; our Party was yet to be created; what was the life of the generation of youth then? They were only a lot of abused people, they were only slaves, they led an extremely unhappy life in the midst of unemployment and illiteracy... They were vessels without a rudder. Many of them, for lack of the revolutionary movement, were wasting their lives; they became engulfed in debauch, sentimentality and weakness.

The present generation of youth presents a completely different character. They are much happier. By the tens of thousands, by the millions, boys and girls in successive movements are advancing mightily under the banner of the Party. They are happy, because the Party is constantly at their side, leading them and pointing the way toward success and glory. They constantly enjoy education and training on the part of the Party so that they can become useful to society. The Party has been vigilant in its care for the youth, in order to provide them with favorable conditions in which to cultivate their trades and professions, to make progress in learning, to develop every talent in the service of the common endeavor of the people. The Party is the torch

lighting the way for the youth rising to struggle for their own liberation. They are no longer the unorganized people of the past, but have become an organized force standing in the ranks of the pioneers of the Revolution, in the ranks of the Young Communists of Indochina, in the ranks of the young anti-imperialists, of the young savers of the Nation, of the young workers raised by the Party.

Our youth have responded to the call of the Party and have thrown themselves into the revolutionary struggle, full of sacrifices. They have not been disloyal to the hopes of the Party, but on the contrary, they have become a courageous generation of youth who devote their whole life and the spring of their lives to the task of liberating the people, such as: Ly-tu-trong, Nguyen-thi Binh, cu-chinh-Lan, Vo-thi-Sau, Tran-van-On and so many other unknown heroes and fighters.

Our youth sincerely shows their gratefulness to the Party, they swear to spend all their lives in advancing with the Party as their leader, to be forever the faithful sons of the Party, to make endless efforts in order to realize the high ideal of the Party. The highest honor of the Youth of today is to be able to stand in the ranks of the Revolution under the leadership of Party.

The Party is also putting all its faith and belief in the young generation, the faithful inheritor of the Party's task.

The greatest significance of the inheritance of the Party's work relies in the fact that the present generation of youth enjoys constant training so as to fulfillfully that elevated task.

Our country's youth have struggled tirelessly in the task of liberating the people from the yoke of colonialism, they have struggled patiently and mightily in order to overthrow the landowner class. This sacrifice is no small sacrifice. But we still have to struggle for the present revolutionary tasks and for those to come, in order to realize the high goals of socialism and communism.

Under the new conditions of the present revolution, it is all the more fitting that we, the young generation, should endeavor to train and educate ourselves, and follow the example of the communist heroes in our struggle, so that in his studies and in his tasks, every community member and every youth will be able to act in a relentless spirit and to serve the people unconditionally.

Ly-tu-Trong is well known to the youth of today. He belongs to the first generation of communist young men who sacrificed themselves at the early age of seventeen. In hearing of the name of Ly-tu-Trong, the young generation of today will no doubt remember always his most noble personality, his revolutionary zeal and his unconquerable spirit.

It is indeed by no mere chance that there exist such generations of youth to have dared to stand up and struggle with all the courage they can afford. Surely, they have done so after having been imbued with the noble thought of liberating the masses of the people from exploitation and oppression, with the thought of serving the interest of humanity.

All through a struggle which has lasted several decades, the generation of our fathers and our own generation have so far achieved a tremendous task: that of fighting victoriously against a clique of feudal imperialists in one half of our country, that of carrying on the socialist revolution and building up socialism. The historic task of our present generation today consists in helping the Party to build up socialism, to achieve the task of liberating the people, to faithfully inherit the task of the Party, to build a happier and newer life. This is a heavy and at once glorious responsibility that the present generation of youth should undertake to bear with courage and heroism. The first thing that the young generation should do is to be clearly aware of the task that the mother country has set for itself, in order to keep warm and eager at heart; they should preserve the results of the revolution that our fathers have brought us, they should develop those results without end.

Tens of thousands, millions of young people of the South are throwing themselves in the struggle for life against the enemy, for the sake of the liberation of the people, without caring even for their lives; if they are doing so, is it not that they are trying to carry on the unconquerable spirit of the communist heroes of the past?

Millions of young people of the North are exerting their efforts toward the noble ideal, which is how to serve the people the most, how to build up socialism successfully, how to help society to have more and more material and cultural riches. This has been testified during the past years of economic recovery. Community members and youth have given all their strength to the building up of the mother country. They have not backed away from any difficulty or obstacle, even if they have to leave behind their villages, away from those whom they love most, in order to go to wild and distant places, to clear new lands, to build up new factories, to visit and to make enquiries into the rich regions of the land. They are able to sustain all the hardest conditions of life, they work with all the sense of sacrifice and all the eagerness of youth, in order to contribute to the general and common task of the motherland. Those youths, male and female, do also spare their leisure time to work in order to save money for the savings bank, for the young people's factory. They take part in unpaid tasks in order to contribute their strength to the building up of the country. There is no doubt that those young people work not for their own interest, not for the sake of their own wealth, but only to increase further the wealth of the country. These facts also point to the vivid characteristics in the virtues and qualities of the youth of our country. Those young people are undertaking the gigantic task of inheriting and continuing the work of their revolutionary elders. They still need to be trained to live and work under the socialist regime and take part in the management of every task in the society of the future. This explains the need of the youth to learn the working spirit and the mode of life of the communist fighters. They need to understand clearly their noble responsibility, they need to come to the realization of their duties, in order to advance courageously and unceasingly, to work laboriously,

to sacrifice themselves heroically, in order to know how to put the interests of the country and those of the people above everything else, to take pains in studying and harnessing the knowledge and the sciences of humanity, ready to devote all their strength to the revolution.

In face of the gigantic and glorious endeavour of the Motherland, those who hesitate, those who feel lazy, those who are still interested in their gains or losses, those who shun the difficult task, indeed they should be ashamed of themselves.

The young generation of today has not had the good fortune of experiencing the life and knowing the broad field of struggle which the generation of our elders has known. They have neither seen nor known all that was horrible and disastrous in the pre-revolutionary period, neither have they seen the oppression and exploitation that the working people have had to endure. This is the weak point and the shortcoming which causes the young people of today to be still lacking in the fighting revolutionary spirit, both patient and relentless. This is why, in order to assume full responsibility as a faithful inheritor of the task of the Party, our young people need first of all to learn from Party members and long standing revolutionary fighters; they need to learn and understand more about our country's history, the history of the working class and of the working people, the glorious history of our Party; they need to learn about the revolutionary tradition of our Party and of the working class, and they need always to train themselves in actual life and in their work.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY CELLS IN RURAL AREAS DURING COOPERATIVIZATION

12 February 1960

Nguyen-Bieu

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According to the directive of the Central Committee of the Party, our first and foremost task at the completion of the wave of development of the cooperatives of the autumn of 1959 is to concentrate our strength on the consolidation of the cooperatives in the fields of thought, policy, organization, and profession; to make use of the consolidation of the cooperatives in order to expedite and bring to a complete success the Winter and Spring Production, to bring it to a solid and level-surpassing success; and to prepare conditions for an enlargement of the cooperativization movement at the beginning and during the year 1960. In order to achieve that task, the Central Committee has decided on the organization of an overall wave of consolidation of the cooperatives.

One of the deciding factors in the successful achievement of the consolidation and development of the agricultural cooperatives is, first of all, that the leadership of the Party in the countryside must be strengthened, that the Party organization must be strong, that the party cells in the countryside are not only the vanguard groups leading the movement, they are also the organs which control directly the propaganda, the organization, which lead the plurality of the people toward achievement of all policies and views of the Party in the countryside. Practice has pointed out clearly that where there is a strong Party cell, and where the leadership of the Party cell is correct and strict, keeps up with the times, the movement of cooperativization of agriculture and all other tasks develop favorably. But where there is a weak Party cell, the movement cannot thrive.

Right now, the movement of cooperativization of agriculture is developing more and more, the tasks of production, of improvement of technology, of development of culture,...are advancing strongly, thus causing the sphere of leadership of the Party cell to become greater, more complicated and more difficult than before. Therefore, the task of consolidating the Party cell, of improving the standard of perception of the party member in the countryside, of improving his thoughts and his working abilities, so that he can respond to the demands of the situation, to those of the present and future tasks, is a very important task for all levels and ranks in the Party.

The task of consolidating the Party cells, and of educating the Party members must be linked closely with the development and consolidation of the cooperative movement and with the achievement of the task of reforming democracy in the mountain regions.

During the past few years, and especially of late, many provinces like Phu-tho, Hung-yen, Nghia-an, Vinh-phuc, Thanh-hoa, etc ...have approved the resolution to consolidate and develop the cooperative in order to consolidate the Party-cells and carry on the development of the Party.

Practical experience has demonstrated that for a region under the jurisdiction of the Party cell that can achieve that summary of the work in a good way, not only can it consolidate its position and viewpoints, and improve the thoughts of its party-members, and illustrate the leadership of the Party cell, but it can also actually help the cooperative in having good results in the summarization of its work. And it is thanks to this that the region has been able to encourage its Party members and cooperative members in their enthusiasm and efforts to uphold their good points and to overcome their weaknesses in order to achieve their duties. But at present, many localities still have the tendency towards oversimplification. They usually concentrate only on reviewing figures and expenses and underestimate the task of reviewing their standpoints, their thoughts, their spirit, their behavior, and the task of the Party member while he is carrying out the policies and methods of the Party. This is a shortcoming that needs to be remedied with determination.

Thanks to the various waves of education, training and re-education, the Party member's ideas in general have gone through a favorable change. Not only have most of the Party members enthusiastically joined the cooperatives, they have also helped in organizing, making propaganda, and leading the masses of the people in carrying out the Party's policy of socialist reform of agriculture and other policies. However, the degree of socialist enlightenment in many Party members is still low at present. Many of them still lack the concept of considering the cooperative as their own homes, they still care about getting good marks and belittle the task of building up the cooperative. There are Party members who only care about the interests of the cooperative and do not carry out seriously and correctly the Party's policies, such as tax policy and the recovery of purchased materials, etc.... Many of them ignore the plots and the counterpropaganda and subversive activities of the enemy and of the bad elements of the Party. Moreover, there are still a few Party-members who do not have complete faith and determination in building up and leading the movement of cooperativization of agriculture. There are those who have already joined the cooperative, but still entertain the idea of "half belonging to it, half staying outside of it". There are even those who do business and seek to exploit the cooperative for personal gains.

A small number of Party members are still staying idle and do not engage in Party-activities. One point worth of interest is that the movement of cooperativization of agriculture is developing day after day, day after day the cooperatives are growing bigger and bigger; there is more and more work to be done, but the organization of the Party cells is slowly developing in many respects so that it is not yet in harmony with the demands of the situation.

At present, the task of socialist reform of agriculture, and of developing culture in the countryside, has a demand on us. We must make an effort in building very solid Party foundations in the countryside. The responsibility of developing and consolidating the Party cells in the countryside must aim at cultivating the pioneering spirit

and leadership of the Party member, at developing the rank and file of the Party, at developing the class characteristic, the fighting spirit and the role of leadership of the Party cells (Decision adopted at the Fourth National Conference on Organization).

This spring, the localities are carrying on the task of consolidating and developing the movement of cooperativization. All Party levels should have plans for close coordination between consolidation of Party cells and enlarging the rank and file of the Party on the one hand, and consolidation and development of the cooperatives and completion of democratic reforms in the mountain regions on the other. They should regard the consolidation of the Party cells as the first deciding factor for carrying on the task of consolidating and developing the cooperativization movement. While consolidating the Party cells, we need to educate the Party members in order to enlighten them further about socialism, particularly the concept of socialist collectivity, to overcome ideas of individualism, so that each party member can possess and obey the seven demands made on the Party members of the countryside -- demands that the fourth National Conference on Organization has adopted -- and also carry out seriously the class policy and the policies of the Party in the countryside.

In respect to organization, we should continue to split the Party cells with too many members into a number of moderate sized Party cells. We should make a positive study of the forms of organization at the base in order to adapt them to the developing situation of the cooperativization movement. All levels should strengthen their leadership in order to achieve well the wave of admission of Party members of class "6-I". Generally speaking, this wave of development of the Party has had good results, but in many places there have been a number of shortcomings. Therefore, we need a plan for a good summarizing of the wave of development of the Party. We should make a good estimate of the results, we should bring up long-range problems, and draw practical lessons learned from experience in order to educate all our cadres and Party members, and raise their spirit of responsibility in regard to the task of building up the Party, and we should give to the task of developing the Party a permanent standing.

As regards those places which have no foundation as yet, or in which the Party foundation does not exist, we must exert our efforts to create conditions and positively develop the Party and build up Party cells. As regards inefficient Party cells and inefficient Party members, we need to have concrete plans, and to help them to make positive progress. As to Party members who commit serious mistakes, who are unorganized and lack discipline, we must mete out to them severe disciplinary measures in order to safeguard the healthy nature of the Party.

Apart from helping the Party member in grasping the methods of the Party, the Party must also have the policy of helping him gradually to get used to the management of the cooperative, and to leading the specialized and technical personnel, so as to uphold the principle of collective leadership and the method of leadership according to the ways and methods of the masses.

To consolidate the Party cells, to enlarge the rank and file of the Party in order to consolidate the leading role of the Party in the countryside, to secure successful completion of the task of socialist reform and of building up socialism, this is the responsibility of all in the Party. Each level and each party member among us should realize clearly his own responsibility, should raise his own party spirit, and strive positively to build up the Party cell as a real and solid leading cell in the countryside.

III. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON JOINING LAO-DONG PARTY

No. 2126, 12 January 1960

Unsigned article

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NOTE OF THE EDITOR - Many of our readers have written us suggesting that we explain a certain number of problems concerning the development of the Party. We will answer their questions in the following article.

Question from comrade Vo-thanh-Duong of Thuong-tim, Ha-dong:

I want to join the Party. What is the procedure to follow in an application for membership?

ANSWER: Article 4 in the Party's constitution states clearly:

"Whoever wants to join the Party:

(a) shall apply at the local Party committee of his place of residence or place of work, and shall submit clearly a curriculum vitae to the committee for examination.

(b) shall have to be introduced by two official Party members; these members shall have to guarantee the curriculum vitae as correct and guarantee that the person they introduce answers all conditions for membership.

(c) shall be recognized and accepted by a meeting of the Party Committee, this acceptance to be approved by a higher Party echelon. Examination of the curriculum vitae leading to acceptance and approval shall be conducted at each application for membership.

(d) shall pass through a probationary period."

The strict observance of the above procedure has a great significance with a view to guaranteeing the quality of the new members in order to preserve the pioneering and fighting nature of the Party, to prevent the lowering of the conditions for new membership, and to guide those who have not answered all conditions into the Party. At the same time strict adherence to the procedure also prevents bad elements from entering the Party with a view to indulging in subversive activities within the Party. It is only with those precautions that the task of building up the Party will be conducted in a good way, and the organization of the Party will be strong. And this is in the interest of the revolution and of the whole people.

In putting in practice the above procedure, the person who wants to join the Party will need to do the following:

I - To fill in an application for membership and send it to the local Party committee of his or her place of residence, or where he or she works.

This is an important step illustrating the deep aspiration and the level of enlightenment on the part of the person who wants to join the Party. Whoever wants to join and fills in the application for membership will need to consider his step seriously. Before he wants to join the Party, he will need to seek to understand about the Party, especially to study the general idea of the Party, its constitution and statute, to grasp its goals and principles, to understand the duties of the Party member, so that he can increase his knowledge of the Party and make sure that his reason for wanting to join the Party is a serious one; to correct the wrong motives, such as joining the Party out of a desire for prestige, for personal position, or for getting favors ... etc... He will need at the same time to study and grasp all the conditions for new membership, and compare those conditions with his own abilities to see whether he is apt to join the Party. In case he is apt for membership, he will endeavor to perfect and train himself and strive in order to eventually fulfill his conditions as a new member.

To take this opportunity to outline the conditions for new membership:

As to Party-membership, article I of the Party Constitution states clearly: "All persons of 18 years of age or above, residing in Vietnam, without distinction of sex, religion or race, who recognize the policy and Constitution of the Party, who serve in a Party organization, who submit to the discipline of the Party and pay monthly fees to the Party, shall be accepted as members of the Party."

The directive of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party concerning development of the Party also states clearly: "Acceptance of new membership aims at all those who answer the following conditions:

1. Recognizing the policy and the Constitution of the Party.
2. Having been enlightened as to class and the Party.
3. Always proving oneself strongly active and always fulfilling one's duties in struggle, in production, and in work tasks.
4. Keeping a close relationship with the mass of the people, and trusted by the people.
5. Having an untarnished background.

One thing needs to be stated clearly, and that is: The application for membership should be sent directly to the local party committee of one's place of residence, or place of work, not to a higher Party echelon, because the procedure of taking in new members must go through the local Party committee. This committee is responsible for and has power to accept new members.

2 - To submit a clear curriculum vitae for examination by the local Party committee, and to help the committee to investigate one's background.

While he files an application for membership in the Party, the applicant should at the same time declare clearly his background and help the local Party committee in investigating that background. This

is also a necessary step in assuring the integrity of the Party organization. On the other hand, this will help the Party organization understand thoroughly and deeply the applicant. Submitting his curriculum vitae to the local Party-committee illustrates also one's loyalty and sincerity toward the Party, and the applicant's political enlightenment. The person who wants to join the Party should by himself report to the Party all problems concerning his background and his social relationship. As to key points in that background, they should be stated all the more clearly, and the applicant should by all means help the local Party committee to investigate into them. The applicant should also state clearly his good points together with his shortcomings in all periods of his life, so that the local committee could have a better understanding of him and could better help him in his progress. He should not be afraid of prejudice against him and of not being accepted into the Party and thus keep secret the problems of his background or his shortcomings. A person who is not sincere with the Party can not be accepted into the Party.

3 - To secure two actual members to introduce the applicant to the Party.

Once the applicant is sure of his aspiration to enter the Party and has found himself meeting all conditions for membership, he should secure two actual members, explain to them his intention and ask them to introduce him to the Party. It is common practice that local Party committees usually assign the task of making propaganda to its members in order to help those who want to join the Party. Introducing new members is considered the responsibility and duty of every member of the Party, and is stated clearly in Article 2 of the Party Constitution. What is needed to be done on the part of the person who wants to join the Party is to look forward and follow the conditions for membership, and to train and strive toward that goal, and he will get nearer and nearer the Party and will be directly helped by the actual members, and introduced in time by them into the Party.

Another point which needs to be pointed out is that, after having filed his application for membership, the applicant should continue to learn about the Party, he should continue to strive and make progress and wait for acceptance by the local Party committee. In case he still lacks and does not as yet fulfill all the conditions for membership and has not been accepted into the Party, the applicant should not indulge in a passive attitude of disappointment. He should continue to train himself, he should actively correct his own shortcomings, and should not stop making progress. Through a long and patient period of struggle and striving, the applicant will surely fulfill all the conditions laid down for Party membership.

IV. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON ADMISSION TO THE PARTY

No. 2170, 26 February, 1960

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Unsigned article

Question: Why, on admission to the Party, should the fundamental background be taken as essentially important? People with other backgrounds, such as small property owners, or pupils who have taken part for seven or eight years in the war of resistance, should they, on admission to the Party, base themselves on a background?

Nguyen-Thion,
Box 7736, Hanoi

Answer: There is need first of all to define clearly the nature of the Party, so that one can realize clearly the relationship between the social background of the Party member and the organization of the Party.

Our Party is the highest organization of the working class. It is the leading group of the working class, of the working people and of the people in general. The Party members are those who are most enlightened, most revolutionary; they are ready to sacrifice themselves and to struggle heroically to suppress the régime of oppression of man by man, to build up an equal and rational regime which is the socialist society and the communist society.

In order to safeguard its class nature and its popular nature, while it is in process of organization, the Party must choose the ablest and the most brilliant among the ranks of the fundamental classes of society such as the workers, the poor peasants, the traditional peasants and the middle class peasants at the lower level. Those are the people who once were the most abused and oppressed. They are most able to receive and learn the line and the policy of the Party and have an innate spirit of rebellion. They have a natural faithfulness for the Party. Practical experience during the popular and democratic revolution so far, and facts during the present socialist revolution have illustrated this point. This is not to say that all those who are born into and belong to the fundamental classes do possess the highest degree of enlightenment about class or are absolutely good people.

On admission of new members into the Party, background must be taken into account, because class status yields no small influence upon their mind and thoughts, upon their points of view, and can easily reveal itself in matter of enlightenment about class. Class status cannot, however, reveal itself completely in matter of degree of enlightenment about class. That is why when speaking of background we should oppose the doctrine which consists only in examining people through their background and ignore the task of examining the degree of their enlightenment about class.

For those who want to join the Party, the Party Constitution has stated clearly: "All persons of 18 years of age or above, residing in Vietnam, without distinction of sex or race, who recognize the policy and Constitution of the Party, who serve in a fundamental Party organization, who submit to the discipline of the Party and pay monthly fees to the Party, shall be accepted as members of the Party."

However, as regards our Party which is a Party created and grown in a country with a backward agriculture, the majority of its members are born into the class of small property owners, and at the present time the main trend is toward developing the Party into the working class and into the working people class.

During the admission wave, "class 6-I," the directive of the Party's Central Committee has laid special emphasis upon developing the Party into the working class, into the active villagers of the cooperatives, into members who are outstanding in the labor-exchange units and into the most advanced of the intellectuals of the revolution who have clearly been enlightened about class and about the Party. It is evident that those who join the Party should be those who meet the conditions required, not those who are generally good people. Besides, those who belong to other backgrounds, such as the small property owners and pupils,...they can always be admitted to the Party if they meet the conditions required.

As regards the probationary period for the probationary member who has taken part in the war of resistance for over three years as a cadre, we have furnished our readers with an answer in Nhan-Dan, No. 2146 of February 2, 1960, and No. 2161 of February 17, 1960.

As to those who have not had a personal background and status, such as members of the young student corps, youth who serve as liaison personnel at the organ,...etc..., and who have served in the war of resistance since childhood and have now met all conditions for admission into the Party, the probationary period for them is the same as for the workers. (Note No. 315 TT/TU').

PROBLEM OF TRAINING PARTY-MEMBERS

No. 2174, 1 March 1960

Page 2

Editor: Dao-hoai-Nam

I - Clear realization of the goals and demands of the present education wave.

Since the end of the development wave in the autumn of 1959, approximately 46% of the total number of agricultural people have joined the agricultural cooperatives. A very important fact at present is that, on the overall picture of the enlarged cooperative movement, we must continue to improve the degree of enlightenment about socialism of the members and the villagers in the cooperative, and we must slowly overcome and abandon the ideas and habits inherent to the individualistic working method, in order to create harmony and adapt their ideas, feelings and actions to the new system of production and the interests of the cooperative.

According to the spirit of the note delivered by the Central Committee of the Party, there should be during the first three months of this year centralization and consolidation of the cooperative in all aspects, in ideas, policy, organization, profession, in close contact with the Winter and Spring production.

The present task of strengthening the cooperatives is not only a necessary task following each wave of development of the cooperatives; it has also a great significance as regards development and manifestation of the existing changing trend of the revolution, and as regards intensifying every field of action in the countryside. To carry out well the task of strengthening the cooperatives will improve the nature of the cooperatives and will manifest the superior character of the cooperatives, thus causing the movement of cooperativization of agriculture in the year 1960 to press forward decisively. In their role as leaders of all fields of action in the countryside, nearly 30,000 consolidated cooperatives will constitute an important guarantee for the task of developing and manifesting the ability to struggle on the part of the people, so that they can secure success in the Winter and Spring production, prepare themselves well for the main harvest of 1960 and create good conditions for the carrying out of other tasks ahead.

Right now, the localities are carrying on the competition in the wave of education of the members in the countryside and of the villagers in the agricultural cooperatives in consolidation of the cooperatives this spring.

The main demand of this wave of education consists in inculcating to Party members and members of the agricultural cooperatives the concept of being masters who consider the cooperatives as their own, as having as much importance as their own homes, and who are thrifty in building up the cooperatives. Moreover, to educate the Party member and the member of the cooperative in their love for the country in a concrete

way is to carry out well the functions of the cooperative vis-a-vis the State in matters like the buying of provisions, taxes; and the relationship between cooperatives, and between people outside and inside the cooperatives. The duration of this wave of education should not be too long. It is therefore necessary to grasp all the demands of this wave of education in order to achieve its goals in a centralized, ordered and good way.

We all know that the agricultural people (including Party members) joining the cooperative have all passed through a period of deep thinking, through a period of discussion of "the two roads". However, once having joined the cooperative, not everyone has got rid of all private property, and thoughts and habits of the individualistic way of work. Moreover, cooperativization of agricultural production means renovation of the old production system, building the new production system, and shifting from the individualistic way of work to the collective way of work. The change in the production system creates conditions of growth and consolidation for the ideas of collectivization. But, in face of that change, many members of the Party and of the cooperatives have not had their ideas changed accordingly and at the same pace. These ideas have not adapted themselves as yet to the demands of the new system of production. Hence, in the intellectual field, contradictions have developed and manifested themselves in the following ways:

- Lack of a clear realization of the uniformity between the interests of the member of the cooperative and those of the cooperative itself, resulting in a bad performance of the work of the cooperative, in the pursuit of official requirements, and in a lack of the idea of thrift.

- Lack of a clear realization of the relationship in work, in cooperation and help between the members of the cooperative and the working units, resulting in a wrangling comprehension about good and bad ricefields, about ricefields being near or far.

- Lack of a clear realization of the relationship between the cooperative member and the management, resulting in clashes between the two, owing to the lack of democratic methods on the part of the management, and to the cooperative member refusing to obey and submit to the regulations of the management.

There are, moreover, in the relationship between one cooperative and another, between the cooperatives and those outside the cooperatives, problems that need resolving. As regards the policy and directives of the State, although Party members and members of the cooperatives generally have submitted to them and have carried them out, there still exists a situation in which taxes are not paid in time, and bad paddy has been turned in ... The above manifestations illustrate the contradictions which have newly developed since the agricultural people joined the cooperatives. It must be said that, after all, those contradictions are contradictions which arise from the choice of the "two roads", of individualism or collectivization.

The above situation springs from the following causes:

(a) The agricultural people have joined the cooperatives, but this does not mean that they have been enlightened enough about socialism. They have not yet seen that their interests are closely linked with those of the collectivity and they have not digested completely the concept of being the masters who consider the cooperatives as having as much importance as their own homes and who are thrifty in building up their cooperatives.

(b) On the part of leadership, there are also shortcomings, such as lack of real democratic spirit in the management, which still indulges in giving orders and does not possess as yet the ways of the class, nor the principle of distribution of work,...etc...

In order to solve those contradictions and intensify the task of consolidating the cooperatives, there must be first of all education of Party-members and members of the cooperatives in the concept of being masters of the cooperatives.

In fact, in this matter of education, the task of improving the degree of enlightenment about socialism for the agricultural people does include many more problems. But stress upon concentration on the task of improving the concept of being masters of the cooperatives is at present the key problem in the mind of the party members and of the members of the cooperatives. To teach the concept of being masters of the cooperative is indeed to teach the socialist viewpoint to the agricultural people. In the past, the farmer was a lone producer; hence every calculation on his part sprang from the material living conditions making up his life, from the little patch of a garden, from the acre of ricefield, from the buffalo, from the plough that he owned personally. Now, the system of production has changed. Every individual works for the collectivity, and the collectivity cares for each individual. This is a big change in the material foundations. Therefore, if the farmer's viewpoint has not changed in time, if he has not been able to define for himself the viewpoint of the collectivity, if everything does not spring from, or take into account, the interests of the cooperative, it will follow that not only will it not benefit the interest of the cooperative, but private interests will not be served either. It is because of the lack of a clear definition on the part of the farmer of the position of the master of the cooperative that, when clashes arise between the private interests of the farmer and those of the cooperative, the farmer tends to underestimate the common interest and does not take it enough into account. In his dealings with the cooperative, with the management and with the other members, he even adopts quite an individualistic position. That is why to teach the Party members and the members of the cooperative in order to improve their concept of being masters of the cooperative and to help them define the position and viewpoint of the collectivity, is the primary demand of this wave of education.

There is need, moreover, to improve the love for the country; in a concrete way, it means to serve as a model in the application of the Party's policies, such as tax policy, the recovery of loans, the recovery of purchased materials. This demand is still a big problem; it needs

to be dealt with more deeply in future, but we should mention it in this wave of education. The point that needs to be taken into account in this wave of education is that there should be an exposure of the shortcomings in the application of the Party's policies, so that they can be remedied afterwards. For the Party member, the content of the teaching for this time also consists in the above problems. Once he has joined the cooperative, it does not mean that his duties end there. Every Party member still owes it to himself to illustrate his role as a leader, to uphold his responsibility of leading the way in the building of good cooperatives; to be a good member of the cooperative, and really to be master of the cooperatives.

2 - A few problems, content, motto and method.

In order to answer the above demand, we must, first of all, in matter of content, educate the Party members and the members of the cooperative in the following points:

- The present situation of the movement, the general duties of the North and of the localities in the year 1960, show good points and weak points. There is need to point out that achievement is essential, to reveal all difficulties in the process of development in order to increase faith, courage and spirit among Party members and members of the cooperatives; in order to help them consolidate the cooperatives and increase the production.

- To point out all the manifestations and characteristics of the fact that the members are not yet masters of the cooperatives, together with the consequences that derive from that fact.

- To look for the causes of that fact and to propose ways and means to remedy to it.

The Party member should realize that to join the cooperative is not enough; he must make it clear to himself that, once he has joined the cooperative, the duty of each Party-member consists in serving as a model for all in the building up of the cooperative, and in the application of all policies.

Once the Party member has finished his training, he will continue to be trained in a broader way within the cooperative, and this includes both Party-members and members of the cooperative. In this wave of education, reports and information are used in the encouragement of all; later on, we shall continue to make use of discussion and self-criticism. We can say that this is the first big wave of criticism, of self-criticism, within the cooperatives. There is need therefore to start from the actual and concrete situation of the localities in order to grasp and to hold on to our mottos, to educate and improve the mind of the Party-members and the members of the cooperatives, and to follow systematically the ways of the masses.

In order to do so:

1 - There should be a neat and clear preparation of the general report, in which there should be a clear definition of the problems to be solved, an enumeration of concrete examples of real situations in

the localities and in the cooperatives. There should be a concerted report on the part of good and representative cooperatives, in which is to be found an analysis of the situation as regards the progress of the Winter and Spring production, and an analysis of the situation regarding the application of policies in each cooperative. On the basis of pointing out the good achievements and the good nature of the cooperatives, rests the criticism of all shortcomings or mistakes.

2 - In discussions, there is need to guide the people to concentrate on the main problems in this wave of education.

3 - After discussions, self criticism will take place. The real purpose of this wave of education is to promote a broad criticism and self-criticism among the members of the cooperatives. However, as far as criticism is concerned, the main point is criticism of the movement in general (take care to point out both good points and bad points). As far as individuals are concerned, there should only be self-criticism. Since criticism and self-criticism are both still new to the cooperative-member and since there still are those who dread it, the whole situation might result in the loss of unity among the members if the leadership is not tactful or able enough. Therefore, only individuals should criticize themselves.

To conduct orderly self-criticism, there should be a good grasp of the situation, encouragement of the positive members of the cooperative, and a sincere encouragement of all toward self-criticism. Not all the members of the cooperative should be forced to do self-criticism. Once the problem under discussion is exhausted, a conclusion should be drawn, and there should be no lengthening of the session.

Once discussion and self-criticism have taken place, the leadership should summarize the problem, and give practical conclusions and ways and means, so that all can strive to remedy the shortcomings and mistakes.

In the whole process, there should be a clear statement of the reasons and causes, and the people should be pushed and encouraged to revise and define the situation, and to point out shortcomings; the leadership should keep itself to the task of distinguishing between right and wrong, between the correct and the incorrect, and of proposing methods for correction and remedy.

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